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TUESDAY
DECEMBER 1, 1953

We got off promptly from Orly at 7:00 p.m. last night on the Trans World Airlines Ambassador flight, which carries twenty-two passengers only. Because of weather conditions, we headed for the Azores, put down there for forty minutes, and twenty hours after quitting Paris arrived at Idlewild.

We went into the city, where I took the 11:30 train to Washington.

I had hardly set foot in the State Department when I was summoned to a meeting in the Secretary's office, where a Bermuda briefing was in progress. I was called upon to comment on the recent debate in the French Parliament, the possibilities of eventual French ratification of EDC, how Laniel and Bidault should be treated at Bermuda, what the United States might do to stimulate an early and definite French decision one way or the other on EDC, and a variety of kindred subjects. I advocated a four-power Foreign Ministers' meeting with the Russians as quickly as possible, since until this takes place the French Parliament will use it as an additional excuse to postpone any further serious debate on European policy. I expressed a lack of confidence in the next French Government being any more stable politically than the present one and, as best I could, drew the dreary and unedifying picture of the recent shameful proceedings in the National Assembly.

There was a good deal of discussion as to whether there was any way for President Eisenhower to bring home to the French people and parliamentarians the grave difficulties provoked by France's inaction in implementing the European policies of ourselves and her other close associates.

In later private conversations tonight I developed this theme further with MacArthur, Bowie and Ben Moore and gave them the long draft paper I had prepared last night on the plane:

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"1. After nearly three years of development in common of a policy to establish a North Atlantic Treaty defense system against any potential aggression, and to deal constructively with the problem of the future of Germany, we find the final achievement of these aims in grave jeopardy because of the uncertainty surrounding the European policy of France.

"Since the Coal and Steel Community project was launched in May 1950, the continental nations of Europe have been endeavoring to create strength and unity in Western Europe, and have been devoting their attention to the incorporation of Western Germany, as a respected and participating partner, into a bold scheme of political, economic and military integration within the free world. This purpose has had the unreserved support of ourselves and our other NATO partners.

"In December 1950 the North Atlantic Treaty powers, on the initiative of France, evolved the concept of European integration in the military field as the most appropriate method to enable Western Germany to become associated with other liberty-loving nations to further the cause of peace.

"Since that period, we have, with our Allies, been building our security on the assumption that the French plan of a European Army would be adopted; we have also been evolving a system of controls and mutual guarantees designed to insure all nations, including the Soviet Union, against aggression.

"2. Much progress has been achieved in implementing this policy. The Schuman Plan to devote the heavy industries of the Ruhr and of adjacent as well as of certain distant, territories to peaceful ends is in full operation. The partners of France have, or are demonstrating their adherence to a fully-integrated European Army. The Dutch, Belgian and German Parliaments are in course of endorsing by overwhelming majorities the wisdom of this French

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idea. Yet France has not given parliamentary approval or disapproval to her own initiative. The recent debates in the Parliament seem to have confused the very issue which they were designed to clarify.

"The resultant uncertainty has made continuity and cohesion of European policy, so carefully and jointly elaborated by free nations, difficult of achievement because of the indecision of one participant.

"3. I would be lacking in frankness to you, and in the exercise of my responsibilities to my own country if I did not stress the fact that an abandonment of the policy of European military integration might entail drastic changes in the present strategic plans of NATO. After much hesitation and discussion, the French proposal for a European Defense Community as part of the basic structure of strategy articulated with our Allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was endorsed by the United States.

"France, exposed as she is geographically on the continent, was naturally the strongest exponent in military councils of a strategy of defense as far East as possible. The United States, at her direct request and in support of her position, agreed to station forces in Europe.

"The United States, in the further implementation of this strategy, on the proposal of France also agreed to build the air bases in that country which were deemed a necessary part of the defense system, as well as to construct communications in France to insure logistical support.

"On the proposal of French Defense Minister Moch, the United States complied with the request that an American General should become Commander-in-Chief of the NATO forces. These foreign commitments of ours, taken in our own security interest as well as with the larger desire to create peaceful world conditions, represented an almost revolutionary change in our traditional foreign policy.

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"4. The United States, at the insistent request of France, further resolved, as did Great Britain, to link withdrawal from their occupation status in Western Germany to a West German undertaking to make a contribution to our common security, under controls and guarantees of the European Defense Community. The desirability and feasibility of persevering in the occupation of Western Germany have become increasingly questionable, and the moral position of the occupying powers in the Federal Republic, if they are unable to pronounce themselves in a clear fashion in the near future as to their prospective intentions, may well become untenable.

"5. I am sure that the large majority of Americans believe sincerely with me that the fusion of a limited portion of the sovereignties of the continental nations concerned will not only contribute decisively to their strength and cohesion but is the best way to obtain a contribution from Western Germany to the common defense. It appears to us that the only military plan thus far elaborated by France and her continental partners is in the American national interest.

"Twice in less than a thirty-year period the United States has sent military forces to an embattled Europe because the ancient rivalry between France and Germany, provoked into war by brutal German militarism, has exploded into a world struggle. The United States does not wish to become involved in another such conflict. A single cohesive defense force with a single command, common financing, common defense production, has been carefully designed, with the concurrence of the German Federal Republic, to avoid the risks inherent in the creation of a German national army. At the same time, French statesmen and military experts have been foremost in maintaining that neither militarily nor economically can the security of the

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Western World be assured without the assumption by Germany of her due share of the burden of protecting our civilization.

"It is noteworthy that the people of Western Germany share our legitimate fear of a German national army. The European Defense Community is intended to guarantee not only to ourselves and the Russians but to the Germans themselves that German militarism will never again subvert the civil authority in that country to its own ends. For such reasons so eloquently expounded by a succession of French governments, the United States has given its full support to the French initiative in this field.

"6. In matters like these -- involving national sovereignty -- the destiny of a people is deeply involved. In considering them, it is natural that profound differences of opinion should exist. Such issues can only be decided after painful and even divisive argumentation. The United States has maintained as impartial an attitude as was possible under the circumstances. In spite of Communist propaganda to the contrary, we have never used material assistance to our partners as a possible means to achieve what seemed to us objectives calculated to serve a common interest. However, we do feel entitled to a clear expression of French national policy in regard to the grave questions which confront the Western world and which cannot be solved by procrastination.

"For some years the free nations have been attempting to create conditions favorable to peace and prosperity, and to assist in realizing the right of mankind to live in dignity and liberty.

"We have a great variety of difficult problems which demand action. We must know whether the policy of France toward European affairs is entirely harmonious with that of her allies. On this point we must be assured, or

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at least informed if divergences exist. Much valuable time has already been lost through failure to reach concrete decisions.

"7. The Soviet Union has just made what we hope may signify a desire to lessen international tensions. The Western nations should exert themselves to explore every possibility for peace of which the contemplated conference between four powers might be productive. The United States wishes these conversations to materialize as rapidly as practicable. The most important topic for discussion will be Germany. In order to resolve this question the United States, in consonance with France and our other partners, has consistently advocated the incorporation of a peaceful democratic Germany into Western Europe on non-discriminatory terms, and guarantees against aggression on the part of any nation, including ourselves, based on the defensive pacts of NATO and of the European Defense Community.

"If we are all to succeed in the aspiration, so dear to the hearts of men, of outlawing recourse to arms for the settlement of disputes, we must be in accord as to the means by which we can best reach this end. Until France has spoken with clear authority, the rest of the free world cannot realize this estimable goal. Shall we with France offer the policy of European integration as the best means to deal with the existing situation or must we reconsider after fruitless years of postponement our position? It is just as important for the Russians to know this answer as it is for ourselves. We await definite pronouncement from France on this subject."

I told them I was thoroughly aware of the danger of any such initiative on the part of the President, and if it did not seem wise and practicable, attention might be directed to having one of our leading newspapers, of which the New York

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Herald Tribune would be the most appropriate, since the Paris edition could be used simultaneously for the purpose - publish an inspired front page editorial.

When I got to the Georgetown house I found Jeanne, the cook, beaming. E. arrived shortly afterward from New York. The house really looks lovely. As Margaret Biddle gave up her tenancy today, we are forced rapidly to decide what to do with it. My own plans are so indefinite, thanks to the obscurity surrounding EDC's eventual fate, that we do not want to give anyone a long lease on it, and are inclined to have a burglar alarm company close it up and wire it against intruders. This would require draining all the water pipes and many other particulars which must be inquired into.

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